

China Looms Up as the Towering Problem of the Conference

Mongolia and Manchuria Will Furnish Most Complex Issues

Delegates Must Agree Upon Extent of China and Set Borders Within Which Decisions of the Parley Should Apply

By Frank H. Simonds
WASHINGTON, November 12.

WITH the opening of the Washington conference we have passed from the time of speculation as to possible perils and dangers to the hour when it is necessary to examine the prospects of actual achievement. The dangers, in fact, the one great danger, is patent; the policy of the United States amounts to an invasion of a field in which Japan has felt herself paramount and must in any event result in the subtraction of advantages which the Japanese have come to regard as the man in the street thinks of the money he has deposited in his savings bank.

The first question that has to be asked, then, when one comes to the appraisal of the prospects for achievement, must necessarily be: "Is Japan prepared to make concessions, large concessions. Is she within limits, at least, ready to resign advantages in order to avoid an actual collision with the United States, preceded by hopeless isolation in the world?"

To this the answer is unmistakably in the affirmative. Japan has already made impressive sacrifices. The whole temper, spirit, tone of the Japanese representatives is in marked contrast to that tone which was discernible in Paris. Japan is frankly apprehensive; she does not want a war with the United States. She does not want to be thrown back into Asia, separated from all the other great nations of the world, which would inevitably be the consequence of an actual rupture with the United States over any question which might be disposed of by a reasonable concession on her part.

Accepting the fact that Japan comes in a conciliatory spirit, what, then, is possible? First of all, the point of departure, the beginning of everything must be a definition of terms. America has elected to go to the conference proclaiming two abstract principles—"the integrity of China and the open door." Both of them mean much in a vague, nebulous fashion, but neither means anything concretely until it is defined. Indeed, the first definition must be as to China.

Extent of China for Official Purposes Must Be Agreed

What for the purposes of the application of the principles of the open door and the integrity of China, is China, itself? Here is the whole crux of the matter. There must be a China, something less than that represented upon the maps vaguely as lying between Siberia and French Indo-China, something which the United States will recognize as the Chinese fact for purposes of discussion. There must be an area which Japan will concede is outside the regions in which she has already established an accomplished fact of political and economic interest.

If one could suppose, for example, that the United States and Japan could agree that for the purposes of discussion China should constitute that part of the geographical term which lies inside the Great Wall, then the gain would be enormous.

mean that the United States was prepared to concede that when it talked about the open door and the integrity of China it was referring to the eighteen provinces within the Great Wall. It would mean that the United States, in fact if not in phrase, recognized the right of Japan to a special privilege and a special position in Manchuria and Mongolia. It would mean that Japan was prepared to accept the American view of equal opportunity save in Manchuria and Mongolia. It would mean that Japan would agree to get out of Shantung. But it would also mean that we recognized Japanese rights and necessities in the matter of raw materials found in Manchuria.

Unmistakably the first step in the negotiations must be the definition of China, and I venture the prediction that the extreme of Japanese concession is discoverable in the formula that China consists of the territories south of the Great Wall. It is probably true that there will be necessary some effort to bring Japan to the point of agreeing to such a formula, but at the least it is certain that beyond this point she cannot be brought either by American argument or British pressure.

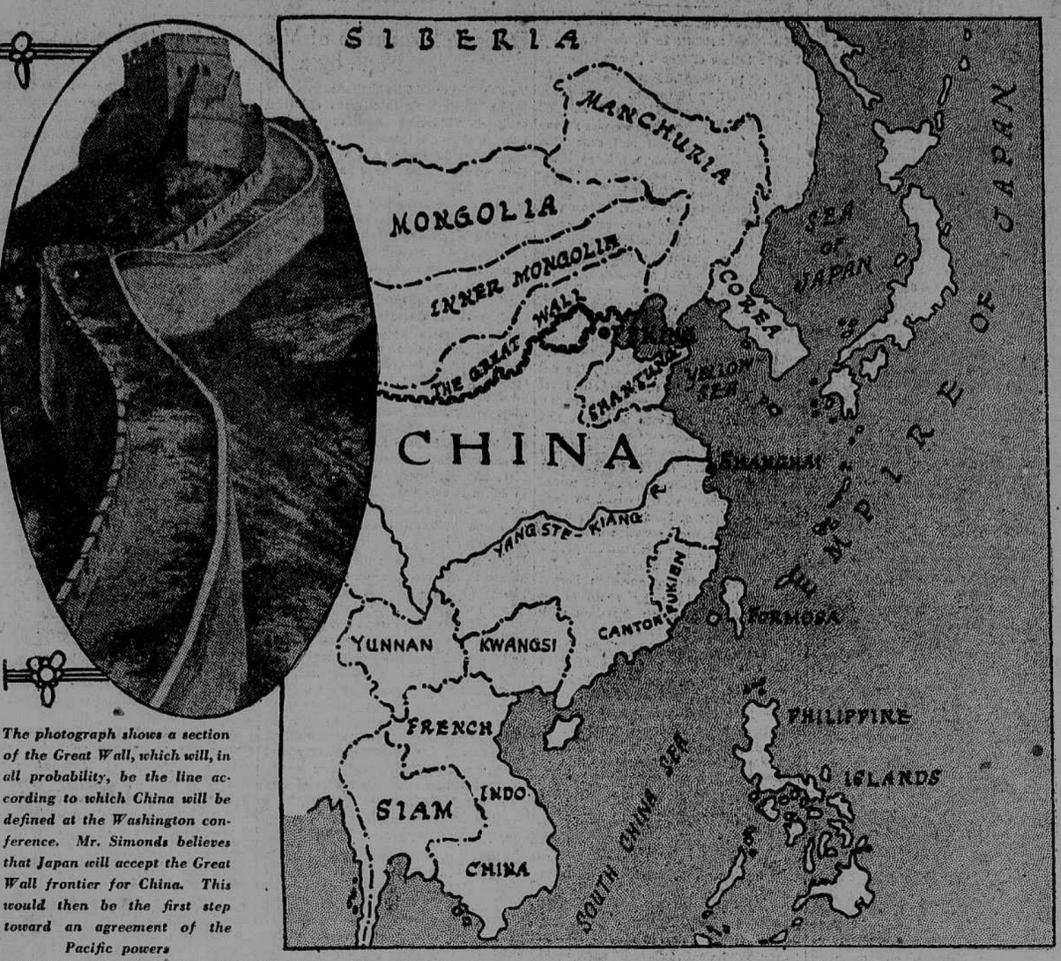
Will United States Concede Japan's Sphere of Interest?

"Will the United States accept the definition and consent to see Manchuria and Mongolia become Japanese 'spheres of interest?' This is the first hurdle. We shall get nowhere until we get over that. No one will argue that such an agreement would be anything more or less than a compromise of principle to avoid immediate failure of the conference and eventual war. But will the American people support an Administration which prefers a Japanese war to a surrender to Japan of Manchuria and Mongolia? Or, to put the thing a little more exactly, since we confront an accomplished fact, will the American people back their government in a war to expel the Japanese from Manchuria, where they are now established?"

Assume that Japan and the United States in private conversation in the opening days of the conference agree that China consists of the eighteen provinces within the Great Wall, what next? Obviously something must be done to create such a Chinese fact. It will not do to draw a line on the map and say: "South of this is China—north, not China." For if that chaos which exists in China to-day be not removed, if China be not helped back to some measure of order and unity, no power under heaven can prevent Japan and, perhaps, others beside Japan, from going in. The doom of Morocco was always sealed, despite all the declarations of Algeiras, because there was lacking in the Shereefian empire the elements out of which to reconstruct a viable state and there was no possibility of common action by Britain, France and Germany to restore Moroccan unity.

Once the conference at Washington has defined China, it must agree upon a common policy to be pursued by all three nations immediately concerned to the end that a China may be constituted or reconstituted within the area described as such on the new map. And the beginning of this reconstruction must be a self-denying ordinance which pledges all three nations to seek no political or economic advantages of an exclusive sort in that territory. This would amount to giving meaning alike to the terms "open door" and "the integrity of China."

China, the Problem of the Conference, and Its Great Wall



The photograph shows a section of the Great Wall, which will, in all probability, be the line according to which China will be defined at the Washington conference. Mr. Simonds believes that Japan will accept the Great Wall frontier for China. This would then be the first step toward an agreement of the Pacific powers.

China Must Be Made Fact, Not a Phrase

But the process does not stop with the self-denying ordinances which are to follow a definition of the fact of China; these are in reality only negative steps. It remains for the United States, Japan and Great Britain in terms, and for Great Britain and the United States in fact, to undertake the gigantic task of making China a fact and not a phrase. If China is to decay as Turkey did, as Morocco did, nothing is going to keep the vultures off. But China cannot regain health alone—assuming that she can still be restored; there will have to be some sort of a consortium, financial at the least, to aid in such a restoration.

This means a commitment. There is no dodging the fact, but it does not involve an obligation to defend frontiers nor to undertake political associations of an unlimited character. It will not do to create a China of phrases, a China diplomatically or even morally acknowledged, but lacking all material substance. The inescapable fact is that the United States, if it is to give reality to its principles of the open door and the integrity of China, must be prepared to assist in the restoration of a Chinese fact. If China cannot be restored, there will be no open door and no integrity. And, to venture one step further in the citation of historical parallel, Japan will push further on beyond the Great Wall as France crossed the Muluya in Morocco.

Until we have reached an agreement with Japan, with Britain participating, as to what is China, until the three powers most intimately concerned have committed themselves definitely to a

Believes Japan Will Accept Great Wall as Frontier

Now, is such an agreement possible? I have said, and I repeat, that I believe Japan will accept the Great Wall frontier for China. My judgment is that British influence will press Japan that far and that British influence will not be exerted further, because British statesmanship recognizes that this is the extreme limit of possibility. The first and perhaps the greatest concession Mr. Hughes will have to make is right here. But if he declines to concede, then in my judgment the conference will fail, and fail with appalling consequences for all concerned.

Accepting the agreement on geography as assured, it does not seem to me that there can be much trouble in arriving at a self-denying ordinance which even the United States Senate will endorse, for the United States Senate, even in its present mood, would hardly take exception to a statement that the United States had no territorial or political aspirations on Chinese territory nor any economic aspirations which it sought to translate into special privileges for its own citizens or interests.

If the conference could stop here and address itself to the question of the limitation of armament, on paper it would seem to be a success. But in

fact, of course, it would be no more than a deliberate and indefensible deceiving of the peoples of all countries and of the American people beyond all others.

We should still have to face the dangers of war with Japan over China, for the danger has its origin not primarily in the present strength or temper of Japan, but in the present weakness and corruption of China. In the last analysis, unless China is set on her feet and held there for a time, at least, it will do no good, solemnly to draw a line at the Great Wall and with equal gravity to join with Japan and Britain in signing a self-denying ordinance.

The real test of statesmanship in Washington, it seems to me, is going to be had when it comes to finding a way in which the United States and Great Britain, having successfully persuaded Japan to resign her hopes within the Great Wall, can address themselves to the remaining task of finding a way to bring about even a little financial and political order in China. And right here is coming the real trouble, when the work of the conference passes to the Senate for review, assuming that such an agreement is reached.

Let us face the thing squarely. We are going to be entangled. We can't have the thing we want in the Far East without undertaking not only risks but responsibilities. We are going to face in the Far East precisely the shadow which so gravely disturbed us at Paris. To get a League of Nations, Mr. Wilson had to undertake certain obligations in Europe; to get a China in which there can be an open door and about which there can be a question of integrity, we have got to do more than

sign on the dotted line. We must, in fact, go into partnership, even if it is possible to write the reassuring word "limited" after the firm name.

Conference Will Collapse if Japanese Holdings Are Denied

Now, if we don't recognize that Japan has successfully got away with a portion of what we have been accustomed to think of as China, just as Britain has swallowed Hong Kong and France Indo-China, war is a future consequence and the collapse of the conference an immediate certainty. And if we don't effectively perceive that China is not a fact until we assist in making her such, the conference will turn out one of the most monumental hoaxes of all time. There isn't the smallest use in talking about the open door when the house is flat on the ground, nor of the integrity of an edifice which is dropping its bricks on every passerby.

We can, of course, adopt in Asia the policy to which we have come in Europe. We can quit the mainland of Asia and wash our hands of China, as we did of Europe. But this means leaving the Japanese to do as they please. It means putting away Mr. Hughes's Asiatic principles with Mr. Wilson's European Points. But we can't abstain from action in China and at the same time insist that China shall be inviolate, even if it becomes a positive menace to the legitimate interests of the other nations having territories or rights there.

Mr. Wilson asserted the right of his country to be consulted and even followed in the making of European settlements. In return he was asked to

Big Question Is Will U. S. Agree To Japan's "Sphere of Interest"?

If Boundaries of China, for Official Purposes, Are Set at the Great Wall There Will Be Little Disagreement

assume certain responsibilities. Mr. Hughes is now asserting the right of the United States to be considered in the adjustment of Asiatic affairs. But the inevitable and the inescapable concomitant is that we shall undertake certain responsibilities. We may not guarantee the frontiers of China, as the Senate believed the League of Nations Covenant gave our guaranty for the boundaries laid down at Versailles, but we must share largely in the undertaking to make China a reality.

If one conceives that ten, twenty or thirty years from now China, assisted by the United States and Britain, will become a national fact again, then our labors will not only prove to have been profitable, but will be automatically terminated. But if there is to be a Japan off, and it will not be possible to keep Japan off permanently without some other step. And that step means a degree of entanglement in Asia. It is the price that will be inexorably demanded of us, and the price which we should rightfully pay.

Title of Japan to Special Interests Must Be Admitted

Mr. Hughes can only succeed in his present undertaking provided he is prepared to recognize Japanese title to special interests of all sorts in Manchuria and Mongolia and ready to join in some form of partnership with Japan and with Britain in the rehabilitation of China. Any form of partnership—and I do not mean by that military alliance or naval bargain, will remove all reason for the existence of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. But to get to the subject of that Anglo-Japanese alliance he has got to proceed logically through the chapters which relate to China.

Mr. Hughes will fail just as Mr. Wilson did, if he lays stress on abstractions, on his points. He will fail if he undertakes to deal with the Washington conference as a case against Japan. Within certain limits pretty well defined every one knows what Japan is ready to concede—and from the Japanese point of view it is an unholly amount. But in the same way every sensible person knows what Japan will not concede and, from Mr. Hughes's point of view, it is not inconceivable.

solution is possible unless abstract principles are translated into workable realities or else discarded altogether, and unless the United States is prepared to accept financial, if not political, responsibilities in the matter of the rehabilitation of China. To put the thing a little differently, not all the thousand and one agreements made at conferences and otherwise by the European countries and made with respect to Turkey were able to prevent a general conflagration growing out of the Turkish problem, because Turkey continued to decay and thus not alone to invite, but in a measure to compel, intervention and resulting rivalries.

The origin of the Eastern question which plagued Europe for two centuries and led straight to the World War was the decay of Turkey. The origin of the present Far Eastern question is the continuing weakness of China, which has recently increased. Unless this decay can be arrested the Far Eastern question will remain and Japanese aggression will continue or be resumed after a brief interruption, thus bringing back all the present difficulties and contemporary dangers.

But what then of the question of the limitation of armament, which, after all, gives its name to the Washington conference and dominates public interest and public attention? Just this, the question of the limitation of armament, is and always will be dependent upon the state of the relations between the countries discussing the subject. If you conceive that the United States, Japan and Great Britain will arrive at a basis of agreement as to the Far Eastern question, then the question of arranging future naval programs is almost ridiculously simple. It can be settled in principle in a week and the subsequent labors will be those of experts, which need interest and concern only professional soldiers and sailors.

But if no agreement were reached by the Far Eastern question, even if some arrangement were made restricting for the moment all naval programs, not the least progress would be made toward reducing the danger of war. The danger of war arises from the fact that we, the United States, have challenged the Japanese right to do certain things in the Far East and particularly in China. The hope of peace is to be found in the possibility that in conference, and with Great Britain present and assisting, a basis of settlement can be found by which the interests of Japan and the United States and the policies of these nations with respect to China can be reconciled.

This basis can, however, be arrived at only by mutual concession. In the last analysis it must be reached by persuasion, not by indictment, not by the assertion of principles, but by the accommodation of policies. If persuasion fails, the choice for the United States is between coercing and quitting, between war and a complete and humiliating backdown, which will not prevent, even if it momentarily postpones, conflict. If American statesmanship is out to establish principles we shall have war. If it is aiming at a reasonable viable compromise we shall avoid a great catastrophe and not possibly register a small but inestimably precious gain for world order and stability. For another war now might easily mean the wrecking of our whole economic and social structure, the bankruptcy of our civilization.

Abstract Principles May Be Converted Into Realities

But I do not believe any satisfactory

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Hara Policies Will Live in Spite of His Assassination

Liberalism Declared To Be Too Firmly Rooted in Japan Now for Militarists or Bureaucrats to Gain Power

By Midori Komatsu
Special correspondent of the "Chugai Shogyo," formerly in diplomatic service and late Director of Foreign Affairs in Korean Administration.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11.

HOW will the death of Premier Hara affect the political situation? Will it lead to the downfall of the present government? Will the opposition or militarists and bureaucrats come into power? Certain misgivings appear to prevail among the American public that Hara's tragic death may give opportunities for militarists and bureaucrats to recover their lost ground and that Japan will revert to her old imperialistic policy.

Undoubtedly they will do everything possible to reassert themselves, but it is not likely that they will ever succeed in accomplishing their aim. The reason is that they have few followers in the Legislature, and the people at large of Japan, particularly the intelligentsia and the press, are heartily sick of their schemes and actions.

As for the opposition, led by Viscount Kato, they are too weak to be able to oust the present government and step into its place. In the Lower House they have only 109 seats, as against 281 commanded by the Ministerial party.

In these circumstances the chances

are that, in spite of the great loss suffered by the sudden death of its great leader, the present ministry will continue to stay with either Marquis Saionji, the former leader of the Seiyu Kai, or men like Admiral Kato, now at Washington as chief delegate to the conference; Count Yamamoto, ex-Premier; Viscount Makino, minister of the Imperial Household, and Baron Saito, governor general of Korea, all persons grata with the Seiyu Kai, as its head, and Japan's policy, domestic and foreign, will undergo little or no change. Liberalism is now too firmly rooted in Japan to suffer by the loss of one of its many leaders.

Hara was the only commoner Premier in the long line of titled heads of the Cabinet. This Cabinet succeeded in 1918 a bureaucratic Cabinet under the late Count Teruchi, who was War Minister during the Russo-Japanese War and later Governor General of Korea for several years. The Teruchi Cabinet had come into existence two years before, and soon after its organizations dissolved the House of Representatives.

In the fall of 1918 there was a great rise in the price of commodities, particularly in that of rice, the staple food of the Japanese masses. This intensified the unpopularity of the Teruchi Cabinet, the people at large ascribing, rightly or not, the difficulty of living caused by soaring prices to its failure to regulate them. A food riot occurred in an obscure fishing village in a northern district of Japan,

in fact, the political situation of Japan at the time Hara formed his Cabinet was such that only a man endowed with a strong-will power, a resourceful brain and a consummate skill and tact could manage to tackle.

It, therefore, speaks volumes for the ability of Hara that for three years he was able to steer the ship of state safely through a turbulent sea full of shoals and breakers, and in spite of all the efforts put forth by his political opponents to impede his work, he steadily gained in the confidence of the nation, until his government became one of the strongest that had existed in Japan during the last fifty years.

Hara was thoroughly liberal in his ideals and would have done with militarism summarily and without ceremony if he could have had his way. A practical man to the core, however, he knew that no ideal could be realized at a moment's notice. He was patient and worked slowly, but surely, to undermine and ultimately destroy the influence of militarists, which continued to play a dominant part in the framing of Japan's policy for the last half century. To-day the power of the militarists is on the wane. For having so far curbed it, a large share of credit must be given to Hara.

U. S. Immigration Bill Is Topic Of Debate in Italian Villages

Fishermen in Little Southern Towns Argue Details of Measure Nightly; Many Seek to Return to Relations in America

From a Special Correspondent
NAPLES, November 1.

ITALIANS in the 'South' may, in some cases, care little for heavy reading, but they know everything about the percentage bill, passed in the United States Congress.

In all the fishing villages between Naples and Salerno the one topic always under discussion is that of emigration. They are never weary of arguing about the various details and drawbacks of the new law. In the evenings when the boats are pulled up high on to the beach and the men and women folk are sitting on the beldere or the parapet, they talk of nothing else but the problems of emigration and the possibility of getting to the promised land. They know the restrictions, and those unfit according to the new law resignedly admit that they must be satisfied with Italy until new regulations come in.

One and all agree that, though the new law is hard on them, the American authorities have a perfect right to protect their own workers and choose the kind of emigrants they want. All this they discuss calmly and, in a way, clearly.

Comparison With Pre-War Conditions Causes Discontent

It is only when they think of pre-war days, when emigration was easy and the men left the villages for a seven months' residence in the United States and returned home with a hard-

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PARIS, Oct. 27.—The Paris police and judicial authorities are determined that the Apache will not come back into his own.

Yvette Miffone, long known to the Paris police as one of the most dangerous female Apaches of Paris, has just been sentenced to fifteen years in prison at hard labor. She led her gang of young Apaches in a daring jewelry store robbery. Albert Tellier, a sixteen-year-old boy, member of Yvette's gang, was sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor.

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earned nest egg, that they grow pensive. In one village alone, Positano, all the able-bodied men emigrated, returning after seven months to their wives and families, who, in the meantime, had cultivated their own piece of land. It was with the money from the work in the United States that they could buy the land, in the first place, and keep their families going.

The women cheerfully adapted themselves to the absence of their husbands, as, on the return, there was always a nice sum of money to put by for improving the land. Lack of emigration to these people means misery, as they cannot find enough lucrative work for all, as the villages depend entirely on fishing as a trade, except, of course, a village like Amalfi, which has paper mills up in the beautiful valley behind the town. But many of the mills are in the hands of families who employ only their own sons and daughters and keep the business of making and selling in their own hands.

Besides this, for more than fifty years emigration of some sort has been the rule, so that it is very hard now to change the custom of a dozen villages.

Some have turned their faces toward Germany and France, but even there the number of immigrants needed is limited. But Germany and France can never take the place of what they call "God's Country." In the minds of many of these returned emigrants the main advantage of living in the United States is the efficiency of the Board of Health, whose power to force landlords

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to whitewash dirty and ill-kept houses seems nothing short of a miracle, as in these villages the Board of Health's control over the proprietors has never been heard of.

Not only have the workmen been damaged by the new law, but many who returned a few years ago for business reasons or homesickness are now compelled to remain in Italy.

In Atrani, near Amalfi, there is a hearty old man of seventy years, Sor Vicenzo, whose sons and daughters live in the United States. He and his cheery, energetic wife, Sora Maria, returned to Italy two years ago for business reasons, concerning a pension which he drew for his participation in the Battle of Lissa, forty-four years ago. The men of that day were never given a pension, though they fought valiantly against the Austrians. Two years ago Sor Vicenzo was notified that the pension would be paid to him on a certain date, but he and his wife must present himself at a certain office. Naturally both he and his wife did not imagine that by coming over they would have to remain in Italy forever. "Besides," says the old man, "we have to pay taxes on everything and that runs away with the small income I have. Think of luxury tax on a bottle of wine, in our own wine growing country."

"What annoys me is that there isn't the Board of Health to force our landlord to whitewash our house," said his wife. "Shouldn't we really," she continued, "have the right to return to our own sons and daughters who are naturalized citizens and buyers of Liberty bonds?" Their friends tell them that the new law does not exclude them, but still they are waiting for the necessary permit to return to New Haven, Conn., where their grown-up children are awaiting them. Their one consolation is that they have a tiny flat and can manage to make ends meet, though living has increased.

But Sor Vicenzo isn't the only one who has relatives in the United

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States. Amalfi alone, with its 7,000 inhabitants, has 4,000 of them residents in various parts of America. Many of them have never returned, but whenever they need some expert workmen they send home for them to come over. At least they did in the old days, but now permits and visas must be obtained and sometimes months pass before those called can get away.

In the old days it was quite different, as steamship companies were their own masters and could take on temporary hands for every passage. Whenever any one from these villages wanted to go to America he applied at the office in the village of a steamship company and signed on as a steward or deckhand, or even stoker. When he reached the United States he signed off and was free to journey to the town where a job was awaiting him. Now, even when a man gets his visa and permit he must pay his full steerage fare, as the Federation of Seamen prevents the companies from taking on temporary hands or non-members of the union. The fares are very high now, not only on arrival, but while waiting for the ship to leave. In some ports there is the fumigation and quarantine.

With all these drawbacks the fishermen are keen on emigrating. Life in Italy is now very expensive for those who do not benefit by a high foreign exchange. Emigration means—and always has meant—prosperity to the people, the villages and the communes. The men from these districts around Naples and Salerno are born workers. The inertia and hatred of work which seemed to affect workers in other districts are unknown here. They are devoted to their families and to their trade. Drunkenness is rarely ever seen in any village along the coast. They work so hard during the day that at night they roll off to sleep. Even the fishermen here find life a struggle, as fish seems scarce since the war; working on a share system, as is the custom, is a bit precarious.

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